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# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 40, NO. 5

November 18, 1946

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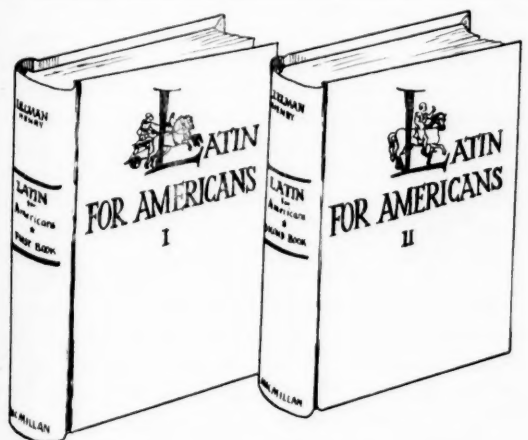
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# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Published weekly (on Monday) except in weeks in which there is an academic vacation or Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Easter, or Memorial Day. A volume contains approximately twenty-two issues.

Owner and Publisher: The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of Publication: Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Printed by The Beaver Printing Company, Greenville, Pennsylvania.

Edward H. Heffner, Editor, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

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Associate Editor, Wm. C. McDermott; Contributing Editors: Charles T. Murphy, J. C. Plümpe, Lionel Casson.

Price, \$2.00 per volume in the Western Hemisphere; elsewhere \$2.50. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers: to subscribers 15 cents, to others 25 cents prepaid (otherwise 25 cents and 35 cents). If affidavit to invoice is required, sixty cents must be added to the subscription price. For residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, a subscription to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY (or, alternatively, to The Classical Journal) is included in the membership fee of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, whose members are also entitled to The Classical Outlook and The Classical Journal at special prices in combinations available from the Secretary.

Entered as second-class matter November 7, 1945, at the Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, authorized October 14, 1938.

Volume 40 contains issues dated: October 14, 21, 28; November 4, 18; December 2, 9, 16 (1946); January 6, 13, 20, 27; February 3, 10, 24; March 3, 10, 24; April 14, 21; May 5, 12, (1947).

## PLATO AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LOVE

PHAEDRUS 252c-253c

Plato's statement in the Phaedrus that the lover bears within him the image of a particular god whose follower he was in another world and that he seeks a beloved who may resemble that image, has generally been taken as mere elaboration of the allegory, at most a recognition of variation of personalities and of the fact that one tends to fall in love with someone possessing character traits similar to his own. Without attempting to decide the question of the degree of literalness with which we should view Plato's description of the vision of the gods in a previous existence, I should like to point out that a more significant interpretation of the inner image would not be out of harmony with modern psychology.

Plato says that each man chooses to love someone who potentially, at least, is like the god to whom he himself was originally devoted. The lover is able to see the nature of the god within himself *ἰχνεύοντες δὲ παρ' ἐαυτῶν* and recalling the deity by memory then strives to make the beloved like the image, so that he may worship him. We have, then, a divine image within the lover. Guided by it he first seeks a beloved capable of receiving its qualities, then remakes and perfects the beloved in the likeness (*τεκταίνεται τε καὶ κατακοσμεῖ*), then worships the beloved because of the divine resemblance. The divine image is presumably somewhat alike in all men in so far as it is divine, but there is evidently individual variation as well, a variation which seems to allow for human weakness as well as divine strength.

That one, as a rule, falls in love with a person of at least somewhat similar tastes is a truism. That love and its nature are due more to the activity of the lover than to objective qualities in the beloved may likewise be accepted as psychological truth. Marcel Proust, for example, makes it a fundamental principle in the infinitely

detailed self-analysis of Remembrance of Things Past. But that the inner image is divine in origin or even that it has any existence more than as the sum of personality traits or ideals is a far different thing. It has not been taken seriously by modern scholars, and they have scarcely allowed Plato to do so. Nevertheless, there is one important contemporary school of psychology which comes surprisingly close to upholding the reality of the Platonic image.

Karl Gustav Jung holds that there are certain undying symbols—he calls them 'soul images'—which appear and reappear in the dreams and minds of all individuals, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously. One of these is the anima, a feminine figure which appears in various guises in a man's dreams (for women it is the animus and masculine), and which represents the subordinated feminine elements of a man's personality. It has a less individualized aspect as well, representing the precipitate of mankind's experience of the feminine sex. And it is autonomous, an image coming to man from beyond his conscious self. When a man falls in love, according to this view, he chooses someone suitable to bear the projected qualities from within himself. If these are weaknesses, he may blame the other person for faults which in reality are in his own character. Or, if the person successfully portrays those ideals which he particularly cherishes, whether or not he realizes it, he may be bound by a bond inexplicable to others. In either case, it is the qualities of his own soul image which he seeks to find, and the intensity of his later adoration depends on the measure of success in his finding them.

The difference between this psychological theory and the Platonic idea, of course, lies both in the fact that Jung seeks the anima or animus as a contrasexual image and in that the anima, unlike the Platonic image, is not a reflection of divine perfection which one should strive to copy. Nevertheless, three strong similarities are to be noted. In each case the lover chooses as his beloved one who can serve as the recipient of an inner pattern.

Second, he either unconsciously projects upon the individual these hidden qualities or consciously seeks to bring them into being. Third, the pattern on which the lover seeks to model the beloved is individual but at the same time in its origin transcends the individual's own immediate experience.

The two views, I think, are interestingly close psychologically. In their philosophical implications they are not as far removed as one might expect. It is true that the Platonic lover consciously models the beloved after his inner pattern and loves as he is successful in so doing. Jung, on the other hand, sees danger in this unconscious projection and counsels the necessity of recognizing it as such and withdrawing it. So far they are different. Jung, however, states that true love comes when one learns to understand the psychological traits within himself. Thus, instead of projecting them on someone else he will voluntarily offer his devotion to one who possesses traits which he admires but which are no longer a mystery. Similarly the Platonic lover, as he increases in understanding will no longer love the mystery of beauty as he sees it in one person, but rather the newly apprehended principles of beauty wherever made manifest.

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## REVIEWS

**Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds.** By HERMANN FRÄNKEL. vii, 282 pages. Sather Classical Lectures. Volume 18. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. 1945. Rhetorician, pornographer, raconteur, mythologist, voluptuary, wit—these have been for the life and writings of Ovid traditional key words. They find a degree of support in Ovid's opinion of himself, in the critical comments of classical authors, and in the yield of artists and observers of a later day. (cf. *CW* 35.20.231-233) Not all men, however, see the same subject in the same light. Professor Hermann Fränkel, whose theme is the dual influence of Ovid on the ancient and modern world, has produced an unconventional interpretation of the Poet's efforts.

For Fränkel there lie in Ovid's poetry values which transcend the customary remarks on rhetoric, pornography, and mythology. He believes (p. 3) that 'Ovid's writings contain elements indicating the emergence of a new world'; that Ovid 'was born a true child of an age of transition', who could not help 'betraying the

forces that were at work.' He supports his theme by analyzing selected passages and by pondering their significance. On the basis of his studies he makes deductions which aspire to establish the true nature of Ovid's connection between the ancient and modern world. Into his analyses Fränkel weaves a literary and personal biography of the Poet. He further implements his study by exhaustive notes; by an elaborate outline of Ovid's life, literature, and philosophy with references to a fuller discussion of these problems in the text; by an index to the cited works and passages; and by a general index for the entire volume.

Fränkel's approach to Ovid as a poet between two worlds is largely a study in mental projection and in a psychological interpretation of attitudes and ideas. For example, Ovid as a man suffered in the ancient world social and civil death; but in his capacity as a poet he earned with his verse a measure of immortality in the Christian world. Thus it appears that Ovid's death is a symbol of antiquity and that the survival of his fame and genius is a symbol of an historical point slightly beyond. One aspect of this ancient and modern phenomenon is the Poet's habit of moving on more than one plane of reality. Dido's lament to Aeneas (*Heroides* 8) could be quoted as a logical example of this tendency. When she addresses her lover who is now beyond her reach, she complains of life as it is. At the same time she sees nothing in life as it used to be. The undesirable reality of the past mingles with the undesirable reality of the present. Again, Fränkel notes Ovid's curious practice of dealing with the problem of identity and its various attributes: fluid identity, double identity, interplay of sameness, lost identity, and merged identity. A lover (*Amores* 1.7) who had rebuked his sweetheart suddenly realized that her grief was his own and that 'sanguis erat lacrimae, quas dabat illa, meus.' At the moment when the impetuous wooer felt the pangs of remorse, the identities of the two lovers were magically welded into a single unit.

One of the most unusual observations which Fränkel makes about the union of ancient and modern thought in Ovid's poetry is the Christian principle of mutual carrying of crosses (p. 22). The willing lover (*Ars Amatoria* 2) is a logical prop for this kind of argument. He will shade his sweetheart from the sun. He will warm her hands in his bosom, and if need be, he will hold her mirror for her. Obviously he will carry her cross.

In a similar fashion the author treats the Poet's capacity for contrition and mortification. Ovid considers in a spirit of self-punishment (*Tristia* 1.7) that the *Metamorphoses* were flesh of his flesh and were destined to perish with him in the flames because of his errors.

At the very bottom of these mental attitudes Fränkel establishes a consideration of Ovid's literary doctrines. From them, as he understands them, the author derives a statement of first principles. He believes that the Pygmalion fable contains the essential ingredients of the Poet's philosophy. Pygmalion was an artist; and with his skill he created an ideal being. Such a being, representing the sublimest achievement in the realm of art, was perfection in an imperfect world. To Pygmalion's artistry Fränkel adds his own interpretation (p. 92) of Ovid's belief in man as 'an interesting and emotional individual... a being capable of affectionate intercourse with others.' Pygmalion had immediate reason to rejoice at the effect of this combination; for, as Fränkel observes (p. 95), 'the warm sunshine of his affection and the deft touch of his hands melted down frigidity...' It is this partnership of man and art which constitutes the foundation of Ovid's literary efforts. Out of this doctrine Fränkel has derived his Ovidian theories of poetry in two strata and in two planes of reality; of the phenomena of identity, of loving-kindness, and of capability for contrition and mortification.

Yet an analysis of literary theory, however accurate it may be, does not completely embrace the matter of Ovid's aim and purpose as a poet. A statement of first principles must include also a consideration of the extent of the pursuit of pleasure which motivated much of the poetry composed by Ovid prior to his banishment. Sensual delight for the reader took precedence over psychic maneuvers. (Fränkel admits that Ovid himself did not understand too well the ideas of identity, contrition, and mortification). Like an honest storekeeper, Ovid aimed to please. He probed deeply into society's quest for thrills and physical enjoyment. He was an organizer and tabulator of the whole business of pleasurable living and loving. It naturally follows that he was a student of sexual practice and behavior. In this matter abundant allusions to geography, history, and customs of dress, of beauty, of drink, and of conversation give body to his remarks. He was a poet of the heart. He was a scholar in the great school of life and for his own day and age an astute judge of human emotions. Above all, he was a storyteller whose immediate objective, this reviewer believes, was the production of gratifying sensations for his reader. Ovid was not, however, a consummate hedonist. Beneath the primary purpose of pleasure there naturally lie motives and incentives which a poet thinking receives and accepts or rejects.

The extent to which Ovidian impulses may be interpreted as psychical phenomena in the absence of objective, contemporary analysis is problematical. Establishing evidence that Ovid did unconsciously deal with twentieth-century technicalities of reality, of mutual bearing of crosses, and of identity is a thin and slippery

process. There is always the danger of obscuring the truth of his poetry with undue emphasis on behavioristic mumbo jumbo. The value of evolving theories about mental attitudes from Ovid's poetry on as large a scale as that which Fränkel has attempted is regrettably lacking in significance. The prospect of a more rewarding insight into the Poet's life and works on the basis of such observations is not substantial.

That Ovid stood on a literary boundary line is a patent fact. His success, founded on an application of Alexandrian principles of composition, rang down the curtain on the glories of the Vergilian epic and the Horatian ode. He set in motion the tendencies of Silver Latin. He brought to maturity a literary style, and with it he foreshadowed the temperament of a new age in which the passion for verbal pyrotechnics held undisputed sway.

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**Seneca's Dialogues I, II, VII, VIII, IX, X (Miscellaneous Moral Essays).** The Text Emended and Explained by WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER. Pages 49-92. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945 (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Volume 13, No. 3). \$0.50

During the last fifteen years, more or less, Professor Alexander has devoted himself to an intensive study of the text of Seneca, and the results of his labors, as published in a series of articles, notes, and monographs, appear to have been received with general approbation by reviewers, although one or two mildly dissentient voices have been raised (e.g., Castiglioni, in *Boll. di filol. class.* 41 [1934], 116). This is an achievement that might fairly be regarded as laying the groundwork for a notable edition, since there are not many critics who have read and reread Seneca with a patience and a sympathy to rival his. Future editors, whoever they may be, must surely give painstaking attention to his proposals, even if they may not feel persuaded to adopt the majority of them. More than that he would probably not expect, because he is doubtless as well aware as anyone that definite advances in this field are to be won gradually, through repeated efforts on the part of many workers. One respects the courage with which he occasionally revises some published interpretation of his own, when, after prolonged consideration, he feels he has gained a fuller understanding of the text in its varied implications.

To his principles of criticism certainly none would object: that the readings of the Codex Ambrosianus should not be discarded until a serious attempt has been

made to understand and interpret them from the ancient, and not the modern point of view (Preface); that Seneca's own works, being comparatively voluminous, afford the best available evidence as to what he is most likely to have written in disputed passages (p. 52); and that when A indicates that he has evidently been guilty of an anacoluthon or of some slight inconsistency or lack of balance in thought or phrasing, emendation is not invariably in order, but oftentimes the critic will indulge in it only at the risk of placing a burden on his conscience. There is a good illustration of the last point in 2.6.2, where, according to A, Seneca begins with a protasis of a condition, then launches into a page-long quotation at the end of which he drops the original construction, never applying the anticipated apodosis. Why, after all, should Gertz, with his *is* for *si*, have insisted on depriving Seneca of his acknowledged privilege of joining 'sand without mortar'? It follows that Alexander is most persuasive when he undertakes to defend the A-readings, and it is an agreeable surprise to find how often he has succeeded. Even when he struggles with some really desperate crux, his suggestions stand up well against those of other critics, and there are some attractive emendations, e.g., 2.6.8: *fastigium* (A *fastidium*); 1.5.9: *hunc* (A *hoc*); 9.9.2: *eius exempli* (A *eius plus*); 9.11.1: *facit nostram seque* (A *faciturus aequae*); 10.19.2: *viginti tibi* (A *vigentibus*). Not every reader would be inclined to give quite so much weight to the matter of clausulae, but this consideration is usually subordinated to others that are more immediately valid, such as usage or palaeographical probability, for, as Alexander aptly remarks, this is to be regarded '... not as a tyrannical necessity but as an artistic possibility' (p. 60).

Perhaps a few minor comments will not be wholly unwelcome. In 2.13.2 Alexander would read: 'scit sapiens omnis hos, qui togati purpuratique incedunt, valentes coloratos [male sanos] esse, quos non aliter videt quam aegros intemperantis'—regarding *male sanos* as an intrusive gloss on the 'none-too-easy phrase' *valentes coloratos*, and giving this the sense of 'persons painted up to look healthy.' In 7.7.3 we have *virtus... colorata, callosas habens manus* contrasted with *voluptas... pallida aut fucata et medicamentis pollincta*, which shows that *coloratos* in the sense of 'painted up' is not only 'none-too-easy' but practically impossible for Seneca, at least when it is concrete and not metaphorical. Virtue is hardy and 'sun-burnt,' and it is rather its opposite that is 'painted up.' This illustration is more in point than Ep. 16.2, cited by Alexander, because the epithet is applied to persons, or at least personifications, and is not just an abstraction. According to the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, *coloratus*, 'sole fuscatus' is well evidenced in both earlier and con-

temporary writers, but with the meaning 'fucatus' it does not appear in common use much before the fourth century. Ingenious though Alexander's suggestion may be, the passage cited from the Dialogues seems to force us to retain the better attested meaning of *coloratus*, as evidently in Petschenig's '...incedunt valentes, colorati os, male sanos esse.'

At 10.6.4 Alexander points out that in place of *currit* one would look for a transitive verb which would form a contrast in sense to *dilatatur* and, like it, would control *quod* as an object. He suggests *curtat*, which is close to the A-reading (*currat*), gives good sense, and may well be right, although it might be observed that, according to the Thesaurus, the normal antonym to *dilatatur* would be *coartatur*, as in Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.35.163; cf. also Servius, in the Praefatio to his commentary on the Georgics: '... coartando lata et angustiora dilatando.' No Senecan use of *curtare* is noted in the Thesaurus (though this may not be significant), but *coartare* appears in Dial. 7.4.1 and in Ep. 119.10.

At 2.6.2 defense of A's reading *si* is plausibly explained by treating the sentences at p. 29.3 as the nominal apodosis, but support of *habes* (A) remains unconvincing. The following accusative and infinitive construction not only 'admittedly creates difficulties,' but is not even taken into account by the paraphrase: 'who loses nothing' does not come from the actual *nihil perdere*, but from what Alexander assumes Seneca wrote originally and discarded, *nihil perdentem*. Clausula is an inadequate explanation of syntax that does not construe.

9.1.10: taking *praeceptorum* as a form of *praeceptor* rather than of *praeceptum* makes *imperia praeceptorum*, 'the instruction of our teachers,' entirely intelligible and more consistent with the motive assigned for entering on a political career—that a man should use public office to benefit all mankind—than Alexander's *imperia praetorum* [sequi], to seek the 'powers of magistrates.'

At 9.9.1 the succession of three instances of *nec ullae* itself strains credibility, but the general reference of the last, without a noun, to the preceding terms is most unlikely. Alexander's statement of the thought omits a rendering of the *nec ullae copiae* which he proposes to supply. *Patent* in the meaning of 'are extensive,' applying to wealth and resources, appears a dubious concept drawn from English rather than from Latin idiom.

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**Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des Arkadischen Bundes.** By

CHRISTIAN CALLMER. xv, 138 pages. Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, Lund 1943

Callmer had at first planned that his dissertation should be based upon his own topographical examination of Arkadia. This plan was interrupted by the war and so more reliance had to be placed upon the observations of others than had originally been contemplated.

A brief Foreword, explaining these circumstances and setting forth the principles upon which the book is based, is followed by a List of Abbreviations employed in the text. Callmer deprecates a Bibliography, which he omits, but the references in the notes and the List of Abbreviations scarcely replace a formal gathering of the pertinent literature, ancient and modern.

The first chapter (pp. 1-20), 'Topographische Übersicht,' gives a detailed topographical description of Arkadia, district by district, in which all the ancient cities and towns are located and the archaeological remains considered in conjunction with the literary evidence. The treatment offers no new information, it is true, but Callmer has combed the modern literature with the greatest of care to produce a readable and accurate account.

The second chapter (pp. 21-40), 'Aus der Vorgeschichte,' deals with Arkadian experience from Neolithic times. Here Callmer actually studies the Peloponnesos as a whole rather than Arkadia alone. He discusses the connections of the Arkadians with Kypros and emphasizes the influence exerted upon them by the Dorians, who drove them into the hills or out of the peninsula. The evidence employed is almost entirely archaeological and once again Callmer has sifted and systematized the work of others. His control of the literature is sound, although he might have made more use of the recent studies by Blegen (whose initials are wrongly given on p. 22).

The consideration of relations among the Peloponnesian peoples continues in the chapter entitled, 'Die älteste Geschichte bis zur Vormundschaft Spartas' (pp. 41-77). Callmer shows how the rising Spartan state of the eighth and seventh centuries coveted Arkadian territories along ill-defined boundaries. Sparta and Tegea were early enemies and the particularistic Arkadians sympathized with, and perhaps aided, the Messenians, who were eventually enslaved by Sparta. The treatment of early Sparta is conventional enough, but I suspect that Callmer might have profited by a more thoughtful consideration of the activities of Pheidon of Argos at the time of Hysiai and the Second Messenian War. Pheidon, to my mind, is dated slightly too late (second

half of the 7th century). The author goes on to describe the *synoikismoi* of Tegea and Mantinea (ca. 550 B.C.) as protective moves against a powerful Sparta. Nevertheless, Tegea was absorbed, and the chapter ends with Sparta the dominant state in the Peloponnesos.

'Die Geschichte während der spartanischen Vormundschaft' (pp. 78-108) turns the reader from the aggressive operations of Kleomenes to the period after the Persian wars, in which Sparta suffered temporary eclipse; so Tegea and, especially, Mantinea disputed her position. It is, however, an exaggeration to write of the years following 470 that 'Sparta war machtlos und sein Bund mit den peloponnesischen Staaten aufgelöst' (p. 84). Considerable space is given to the Peloponnesian War, for which Callmer follows Thucydides closely, and the campaigns in the Peloponnese after the Peace of Nikias are subjected to careful topographical analysis. The story of Arkadia is then traced during Sparta's hegemony after the war, and we finally see Mantinea crushed. Yet this was but a prelude to the eclipse of Sparta and the rise of a strong Arkadian state after the battle of Leuktra.

An Appendix (pp. 109-135) is devoted to Tegea, of which the site, topography, demes, and tribes are studied in separate sections; an 'Übersichtskarte' of the city and a plan of its theatre assist the exposition.

The book concludes with an index (short and incomplete) and a large physical map of modern Arkadia.

Callmer has written a useful book in that he has gathered and collated all the pertinent evidence, ancient and modern. It must be admitted, however, that the absence of original contributions makes the reading at times distinctly dull, especially in the account of early Spartan policy and in the passages which do no more than summarize Thucydides.

The volume is well printed on good paper. It is distressing to report that the proof has been carelessly read. The Greek in particular has suffered. On p. 30 (note 39) reference is made to the wrong volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History*; on p. 44 Pherkydes' name is mutilated, as are those of Parke on p. 65 (n. 129) and Pomtow on p. 106 (n. 124). The reference on p. 90 (n. 58) should be to I. G. 1<sup>2</sup> 86, and on the same page the treaty between Athens and Argos, Mantinea and Elis is wrongly dated to 421; the agreement was signed at the beginning of 420/19 (the year is given correctly on p. 93). There are other similar examples of neglect.

It is much to be hoped that Callmer, as he promises on p. V, will regard this monograph as but the basis for his future studies in Arkadian history.

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

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**The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-A.D. 640.** By RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG. xv, 448 pages (New York, Herald Square Press, 1944) \$12

This is a work of major importance in papyrology and ancient law, written by one of the foremost legal historians of our day. Professor Taubenschlag has given us a much needed handbook, to which we shall henceforth be able to turn for a summary of evidence, complete with source references and bibliography, on practically any of the multitudinous points of private or penal law. A second volume, now in progress, is to contain a systematic treatment of constitutional and administrative law, which are touched upon only incidentally (e.g., p. 70) in the present volume.

The history of the law in Greco-Roman Egypt is essentially a story of first two and then three legal systems and their interaction. This development is traced in its broad outlines in Chapter I, Egyptian, Greek and Roman Law and Their Interrelation (1-41). Chapter II, Private Law (43-323), is divided into:

- A. The law of persons (§§1-2).
- B. Law governing domestic relations (§§3-22, covering inter al. such subjects as marriage, patria and materna potestas, guardianship and inheritance).
- C. The law of property (§§23-50, which discuss possession and ownership, and the multiform contractual obligations).

Chapter III (325-364) is devoted to Penal Law (§§51), and Chapter IV (365-426) treats Procedure and Execution, civil and penal (§§52-61). A Table of Sources (429-468), three subject indexes (English 469-474, Latin 474-478, Greek 478-484), and the impressive list of The Author's [61] Contributions to Legal Studies (485-487) conclude the volume.

In 400-odd pages, Professor Taubenschlag has achieved a systematic digest of an enormous mass of primary source material and an extensive and widely scattered modern literature. His text is a refined distillate, the raw materials of which are displayed in the copious footnotes. Despite this succinctness there is no hint of dogmatism: inconclusive evidence and debatable hypotheses are clearly identified as such—cf., e.g., 88 n. 54 (marriage), 168-9 (βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων), 175-8 (private property under the Ptolemies), 240 n. \* (καταγραφή and the sale of immobilia).

English-speaking readers will further be grateful to the author for undertaking the additional task of writing this book in our language. Some carry-overs from continental idiom and practice (e.g., the use of 'resp.' for 'or') were, of course, to be expected, but these are rarely troublesome. The most disconcerting trait is a

tendency toward excessive abbreviation, which results occasionally in obscurity, particularly in references. Constitutio Antoniniana, for example, may appear without warning as 'C.A.' and the 's.c.' that occurs throughout stands for 'so-called.' Again, the uninterrupted repetition of l.c. in referring to a previously mentioned work sometimes involves the reader who (unlike the author) does not know the pertinent literature by heart in an unduly long hunt: in order to find the title of a work so cited on p. 158 n. 2 (and beyond)—to note an extreme case—the reader will, I believe have to turn back patiently through a long series of preceding l.c.'s all the way to p. 4 n. 13. A bibliography of major works and a table of abbreviations included in the forthcoming second volume would eliminate most of these reference difficulties.

The printer, a relative newcomer to this kind of work, has acquitted himself creditably on the whole. The large, clear type employed makes a page that is readable and pleasing to the eye. The book would have benefited, however, from a final editing concentrated especially on the minutiae of the footnotes. η, for example, is frequently printed without the subscript (e.g., 277 n.2, 345, 347, 348, 482), though the printer obviously has the type. On pp. 264 and 482 the intrusive letters κα should be removed to read παραθήκη. If E, F, G and H on pp. 343-352 are to remain sub-heads under II (326) the latter heading should read Delicts against individuals, property, etc. The official meant on p. 372, line 15 and p. 475, s.v. is the *epanorthotes*. The Greek text on p. 420, n. 56 has suffered from the kind of linotype dittography familiar to all readers of newspapers. Sed haec hactenus.

If I seem to have dwelt overlong on matters of physical presentation, it is because these details are important in a work of constant reference such as the volume under consideration is destined to become. Belonging as it does to a highly specialized field of research—in which it will henceforth be invaluable—this book will in all likelihood come into the hands of relatively few readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. But all can feel a measure of justifiable pride in this work, whose appearance serves to remind us that we in America have succeeded in preserving part, at least, of the best in European scholarship.

NAPHTALI LEWIS

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## CATAPHRACTS IN CURTIUS

In Quintus Curtius Rufus' account (3.11.13-15) of the encounter between Alexander's Thessalian cavalry and the Persian cataphracts at Issus, we have a brief description of what seems to be the first such meeting on record. The text of section 15 is unfortunately corrupt. The dictionary, however, gives adequate assistance to the emender, and the results are of some interest to students of warfare. The manuscripts have: *Equi pariter equitesque, serie lamnarum ob id genus graves agmen quod celeritate maxime constat aegre moliebantur; quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali inulti occupaverant. For ob id genus graves agmen have been proposed obsiti (Jeep) genus grave tegmine (Hedicke) and graves, id genus pugnae (Foss).* Noting the awkward results obtained by this treatment of genus, I considered genu and soon found genus tenuis cited from Livy 44.40.8 in Lewis and Short. This produced a result that at once satisfied grammatical and paleographical requirements: *serie lamnarum obdita genus tenuis graves, agmen quod celeritate maxime constat aegre moliebantur, 'men and horses alike, weighed down by the connecting scales in which they were wrapped to the knee, could not easily effect a maneuver to which speed is highly essential'.* It was not clear that *occupaverant* in the next line should be taken as a translation of the Greek *ἐφθῆσαν* without an object. Since there was no fighting during the maneuver, there is no point in *inulti*, and I propose *multo* in its place: *quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali multo occupaverant, 'of course the Thessalians took much less time to wheel their horses'.* Note that *agmen* in the sense of movement is supported by Livy 6.32.10: *fugae simili agmine petunt Antium*, and Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.30: *rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur*. It is not obvious to me what the Greek would have been for *agmen*. My emendation *genus tenuis* agrees with the description of cataphracts in Heliodorus' *Ethiopica* (9.15), where the scale of armor is said to extend *εἰς γόνα*. This passage was first brought to my attention by the helpful article of R. M. Rattenbury, 'An Ancient Armoured Force', *The Classical Review* 56 (1942) 113-6. This gives all the information needed about the strength and weakness of cataphracts.

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